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1	Menday, 3 March 1947
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4	INTERMATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL FOR THE FAR EAST
6	Court Fouse of the Tribunal War Ministry Building Tokyo, Japan
7	
8	The Tribunal met, pursuant to adjournment,
9	at 6030.
10	Appearances:
11	For the Tribunal, same as before.
12	For the Prosecution Section, same as before.
13	For the Defense Section, same as before.
14	
15	The Accused:
16	All present except OKAWA, Shumei, who is
17	represented by his counsel.
18	
19	(English to Japanese and Japanese
20	to English interpretation was made by the
21	
22	Language Section, IMTFE.)
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MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International Military Tribunal for the Far East is now in session. THE PRESIDENT: Major Blakeney.

MR. BLAKENEY: May it please the Tribunal, when the Court rose on Friday last we were about to ar ae the question of the adrissibility of evidence relating to certain acts of various rations which the defense wishes to offer as proof of the present state of the international law relevant to this case. In view of the vital importance of this question to the defense generally, I trust that the Tribunal will indulge me in hearing our views on it : ather fully.

It is submitted that the vidence under discussion is adrissible on four grounds, which I shall discuss seriatim.

Of these grounds my first -- by far the most important and, in our view; determinative -is that this evidence is recessary to the Tribunal to mable it to ascertain the law applicable to the ca. e.

THE PRESIDENT: The common law, of course, is not to be ascertained by way of evidence, not by this Tribunal which administers international law relating to war. You might as well contend that

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the cormon law of England has to be ascertained by evidence. I don't think we will be disposed to hear you at great length on that point, Major Blakeney.

TR. BLAKENEY: I had already mentioned to the Tribunal that we did not know whether its view would be that evidence should be introduced of the customary law of nations or whether judicial notice would be taken of the actions which go to make up customary law.

THE PRESIDENT: I venture to say that the cormon law would be ascertained by this Tribunal as the cormon law would be ascertained by English and American courts; and the treaties would be proved in the usual way subject to our nower to judicially rotice them under the Charter.

to make, your Horor, is not only the treaties make law on the international plane but, as is universally recognized by the text-writers and the courts, the acts of rations make law on the international plane. And it was those acts which we did not know, and therefore offered to prove, whether the Tribunal would take judicial notice of. We, of course, are equally content either way if the Tribunal notices

the law or hears proof of the law.

Passing to the next ground upon which the admissibility of this evidence is urged, we come to the question of the interpretation of treaties by the contracting parties.

For the information of the Language Section I am at the bottom of page 2 of the argument.

If the Pact of Paris, for example, has made the varies of war an international crime and one for the corrission of which individuals must suffer munishment, it is by reason not of its landage, which patently has no such effect, but of its interpretation by the nations. We look, therefore, to the acts of the nations signatory to the document to find whether instances of aggression have occurred subsequently to the adortion of the Pact, whether the Pact has been invoked in such case to munish nations or individuals, --

THE ICTITOR: Mr. Blakeney, we do not have the English version of it.

MR. BLAKENEY: You have had it since Friday afternoon.

THE NUMBER : We don't have it here.

ME. BLAKENFY (Continuing): whether by their conduct the nations not contending for that

interpretation of the Pact have erected a state of international society of which it can be said that such a contention has rimened into a rule of customary law. Unless we find such a condition to exist, it is idle to contend that rations have agreed on that principle of international law; if they have not treated their words as creating law birding on themselves, have not been content by their deeds to submit to the precents which they avow, there is no such law.

The proof which I propose to submit on this point will be such as to show that acts of aggression have been committed, since the birth of the Pact of Paris and within the period of time included in the Indictment herein, by signatories of that Pact who are nations prosecutor here.

THE PRESIDENT: pefore you get to the proof let us decide whether we accept the principle. The Pact of Paris was adhered to by over sixty nations. At most only one or two have broken it. Even that is not sufficient to warrant the repeal of the statute, which would be the only way of dealing with it in the circumstances.

I think Oppenheim deals with this. He says, or Lauterpacht, who wrote the last edition, says -- and I don't know that it is questioned by any serious authority -- that these breaches do not destroy the law. It would be amazing if they did. before you enter upon this proof I think the Tribunal would want to be satisfied that the principle you assert does exist; so direct your argument, Major Blakeney, to show that there is a principle that if enough nations break a treaty the treaty ceases to have any force.

ciple I was discussing, if it please the Tribunal, the question of the pact falling into desuetude as a result of violation.

THE PhESIDENT: well, the Pact of Paris is there and is to be interpreted according to the words it uses. It is for you to show that it no longer

exists or, in the alternative, that its interpretation is affected by the number of breaches that have taken place since it was enacted. But that falls short of giving proof of the breaches. We don't want to hear those unless it is necessary.

such proof unless I thought it necessary to show the interpretation of the pact by the signatories. In put in one sentence the principle which I am contending for now, it is this, that if I can show the Tribunal that five of the great powerful victor nations of the world among the prosecutor nations here have acted in what seems to be contravention of the Pact of Paris, then the Pact of Paris is to be interpreted as those nations have interpreted it.

The President used the figure of speech asking whether we propose to defend against the charge of burglary by showing that others committed burglary.

THE PRESIDENT. That is not a figure of speech.

ally charged with burglary. In any event, our intention is the exact opposite to that. Our intention is to urge the law that international law is molded

ultimately by the great dominant nations and that if they did these things they can't be burglars. The conduct of nations at large, and of the great nations in particular, is the criterion of international law, of international morality.

THE PRESIDENT: I think I can safely say that if there have been any breaches of the Pact of Paris we will judicially notice them. There will be no need to prove them.

ially notice the breaches, not only of the Pact of Paris, which I used as an ullustration, but of the various treaties, conventions, and agreements of which these defendants are charged with breaches, we are content to have such judicial notice taken.

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THE PRECIDENT: You could say briefly, and we can ascertain whether it would be the fact without any further assistance from you, that you contend that in a certain year there was a breach of the pact by a certain nation in respect of another certain nation. You need not go into any details. You can submit that that destroys the pact or affects its interpretation in the way you suggested. That would be sufficient.

"e do not want to place any limitation on argument. "e do want to limit the evidence to what it is necessary to hear.

AR. BLAKENEY: There is one further consideration which I wish to avert to briefly in connection with evidence of this type. Our Charter specifically provides by its Article VI that the fact that an accused acted pursuant to the orders of his superiors or of his government may be considered in mitigation of punishment.

THE PRESIDENT: "Then I say that we will take judicial notice I mean judicial notice of any fact found by the League of Nations. There must be a fact-finding body of that quality before we can act.

IR. BLAKENEY: I might say in that connection that only one of our proffered bits of evidence

has to do with a finding of the League of Nations.

THE PRESIDENT: If we go beyond that we undertake to find what aggressive wars are committed in the world, which would be beyond our province. We have only one to determine under the Charter.

MR. BLAKENEY: Inasmuch as the evidence which we have proposed to submit is in many instances exactly analogous -- is in many instances proof of a state of facts exactly analogous to those charged here, we feel it is going to look perilously like a double standard if the Tribunal finds these defendants guilty and finds other creat nations to have been innocent in doing the same acts.

THE PRESIDENT: "ell, the heague of Nations made a finding about Finland. "e have that evidence before us. "e do not need any more. "e are not going to inquire into the rights and wrongs of every war or attempted war since the Pact of Paris, apart from wars coming directly under our jurisdiction here.

IR. BLAKENEY: But I must confess that we don't know how the Tribunal is to determine the international law which we are clarged by the Indictment with violating.

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how you ascertain common law of war. There is no question about the treaties. There is a question, according to you, as to whether the Pact of Paris is still a treaty, and I have stated it is open to you to contend that there is no longer a treaty or that its interpretation is affected and for that purpose to make assumptions, but we will not allow you to prove the matters assumed because that would involve us in ascertailing the rights and wrongs of other wars.

MR. BLAKENEY: I don't understand what your Fonor means by assumptions. We were offering to present facts, nor assumptions.

THE FRESIDENT: You are anxious to prove facts in this way, by proving a number of other wars and proving no aggressive wars. You started off with Finland, but you are not prepared to limit yourself to findings of the League of Nations. You want to go further. You want us to investigate other wars. But we say to you, assume these other wars took place, then what effect have they on the Pact of Paris? Do they go to its existence or do they go to its interpretation? That is all you need do.

MR. BLAKENEY: Yes, that is what I was trying to argue, that they go to the interpretation. Assuming

such events to have occurred, assuming that the great dominant nations among the signatories of the Pact of teris, among others, to have committed acts which appear on their face to be in contravention of the nact, then we can't say that the pact has a legal as distinguished from a national or a rollitical force, a legal lorce carrying with it punishments as for criminal acts.

I haven't the faintest interest as a defense counsel as to whether the USSR has committed aggression.

THE PRESIDENT: Nor have we as a Tribunal.

IT. BLAKENEY: But I am interested in showing to the Tribunal that if the USSF, the United
States, Great Britain and other nations have done
these things they can not be acts of criminal aggressien.

The FRESIDENT: No court and no writer of any authority has ever made such a submission as far as I recall. Before you invite us to hear this proof I think you should satisfy us that some authority, some real authority, has made the proposition you are putting.

MR. BLAKENEY: Yes, I will be sled to read to the Tribunal short excerpts from two of the leading

authorities on international law. The first is William Edward Hall, "Treatise on International Law," 1924, oth edition, page 5. THE PRESIDENT: Before the Fact of Paris? 

MR. BLAKENEY: Defense counsel unfortunately have not access to all the books we might desire, but I think I might assure the Tribunal that the same passage occurs in later editions, after the Pact of Paris. In any event, I am not discussing the Pact of Paris as such. I am discussing the principle of international law of general application. The Pact of Paris is only one of very many treaties, conventions and other consensual acts of which these defendants are charged with breaches by the Indictment, and, I might add, that all of the evidence which we propose submission of occurred after the entering into of the Pact of Paris and after the period with which this Indictment commences.

Hall then states the principle in this way:

"If international law consists simply in
those principles and definitive rules which states
agree to regard as obligatory -- "

I will commence again, if I may. I don't want to be in interrupted is this discussion of the law.

"If international law consists simply in those principles and definitive rules which states agree to regard as obligatory, the question at once arises how such principles and rules as may purport to constitute international law can be shown to be sanctioned by the

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needful international agreement. No formal code has
been adopted by the body of civilized states, and
scarcely any principles have even separately been laid
down by common consent."

some of course have, including the Pact of Paris.

"The rules by which nations are governed are unexpressed. The evidence of their existence and of their contents must therefore be sought in national acts-in other words, in such international usage as can be looked upon as authoritative."

That is the end of the quotation from Hall.

Now, if we turn to Oppenheim's international
law, we find this point considerably emplified. This
is the 4th edition, of 1928, page 24.

THE PRESIDENT: Does that mention the Pact of Paris?

IR. BLAKENEY: I can't say offhand, but the book is deposited with the clork and I will look it up, if your Honor desires.

Yes, it does. He says this:

"As the basis of the Law of Nations is the common consent of the member-States of the Family of Nations, it is evident that there must exist, and can only exist, as many sources of International Law as

there are facts through which such common consent can 1 possibly come into existence. Of such facts there are only two. A State, just as an individual, may give 3 its consent either directly by an express declaration, or tacitly by conduct which it would not follow in case it did not consent. The sources of International Law 6 are therefore two-fold -- namely: (1) express consent, 7 which is given when States conclude a treaty stipulating certain rules for the future international conduct of 9 the parties; (2) tacit consent, that is, implied consent or consent by conduct, which is given through States 11 having adopted the custom of submitting to certain rules of international conduct. Treaties and custom are, therefore, exclusively the sources of the Law of Nations." 15 That is the conclusion of the quotation from Oppenheim. 17

THE PRESIDENT: The latest edition is always the best, Major Blakeney. This is the 6th edition, Volume II, edited by Lauterpacht, at page 161: (Reading)

"The fact that within a short period after the conclusion of the Pact its provisions were repeatedly violated can not properly be regarded as detracting from its legal significance."

That disposes of Oppenheim. Is there any other authority?

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MR. BLAKENEY: I should quite agree that that disposed of Oppenheim if the Pact of Paris said the waging of aggressive war is a crime it shall be punished by International Tribunals and individuals shall be punished therefore. But, what I --

THE PRESIDENT: Individual responsibility is wholly unrelated to the principle of desuetude or of violation. It is a different question entirely.

I am not discussing desuetude, your Honor. I am discussing the question of interpretation of the Pact. The Pact of Paris says that the signatories agree upon the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy. We are concerned to know what that means. We fully agree that the Pact is still in force and effect regardless of what nations may have done.

THE PRESIDENT: But Oppenheim says that the repeated violations do not detract from its legal significance, that is, do not affect its interpretation.

MR. BLAKENEY: I should have thought that in the ordinary use of language those words of Oppenheim would have meant that repeated violations did not detract from the Pact's having whatever legal affect it has.

THE PREFIDENT: Well, there have been many

1 editions of recognized books on international law 2 since the Pact of Paris. In any of them can you find anything to support what you are claiming, Major Blakeney? MR. BLAKENEY: Oh, I think that can be done. I took it to be a principle so universally recognized by the textwriters that I haven't done more than to go to the two chief authorities, as I considered them. In any event, I can't find them at this moment so I 9 will proceed with the last remark that I wished to make. 10 THE PRESIDENT: Well, I can a sure you we have 11 12 sought for them and we haven't bear able to find 13 authorities to support your proposation. 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 23 24 25

HR. BLAKEAEY: Possibly we disagree about 1 what supports my position. Lastly, at all events, 2 e I wish to return for a moment to the question of  $\Upsilon_1$ 3 reception of evidence of this type in mitigation of 4 any punishment which might be imposed. I had already referred to Article 6 of the Charter which 8 6 provides that the fact that an accused acted pursuant I. 7 to orders of his superiors or his government might r 8 be considered in mitigation of punishment; and I 9 submit that from this point of view alone, if from 10 no other, evidence of the state of international law 11 at the time of the commission of the acts now charged 12 as crimes is clearly relevant. It is relevant if it 13 tends to show that the acts of the defendants and 14 their superiors and government were not in violation 15 16 of but were in conformity to prevailing standards, 17 and it is submitted that evidence of this nature will 18 be helpful to the Tribunal in ascertaining what those 19 standards were at the time of the commission of these 20 ccts. 21

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Comyns Carr.

IR. COLYMS CAPR: Hay it please the Tribunel, I had prepared some remarks in answer to what I imagined to be the grounds about to be out forward. I now find they do not fully cover them. But, with

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the Tribunal's mermission, I will read what I had prepared, which is more convenient. Then I will add some further observations.

Mr. President and Members of the Tribunal, this is the first of a considerable group of documents served upon us which all seem to be open to the same objection and to be supportable, if at all, only by the same type of argument. If they are admitted it will involve a series of inquiries into the relations of the U.S.S.R. with Finland, Estenia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania and Iran, of Great Britain with Iran; of Great Britain and the United States of America with Denmark in respect of Iceland and Greenland; and into the corduct of the United States of America in making use of the atomic bomb.

In each case it would be necessary to make an exhaustive investigation of the facts, to consider what treaties, if any, are alleged to lave been broken and whether they were broken, and to investigate the attitude adopted by other powers or the League of Mations in connection with the dispute.

It must be remembered that in this Indictment there is no Count in which a war by Japan is alleged to be aggressive in which it is not also alleged to be a breach of treaty. We submit, one, that this Tribunal has no jurisdiction to embark upon any such inquiries, and, two, that even if, after long and patient investigation, it found any of the insinuations, which are nowhere clearly expressed as charges, proved against one or more of the prosecuting nations, it could have no hearing upon the only issue which you have jurisdiction to try, namely, whether these Japanese leaders are guilty of the offenses with which they are charged.

Originally, the admissibility of these documents was supported on the ground of some kind of estoppel. We say there is no such thing in criminal law. It is no defense for the man accused of a crime to show that the prosecutor has himself committed one, even on the same occasion, still less on some other occasion, whether before or after the offense charged against him.

Now it is apparently suggested that these documents are relevant because they show that the treaties had fallen into disuse. Such a state of affoirs could only arise if they had been disregarded over a long period, and if all parties, including those alleged to have violated them, had repudiated them or at least had ceased to ruly upon them. These documents, however, would show, one, that all the

events alleged to be violations occurred after the outbreak in Europe of World War II; two, that the alleged violators themselves recognized the treaties by claiming, rightly or wrongly, that they were acting in accordance with them; and, three, in the case of Finland, that the League of Nations condemned the action complained of, again rightly or wrongly, on the ground that it was a violation of the Covenant. So far from showing that the treaties or any of them had fallen into disuse, they show that they remained the basis of all discussions on the rights and wrongs of the actions taken.

"e are left, therefore, in the position that these documents serve no purpose except that irrelevant counter-charges against prosecuting nations.

The Charter, in our submission, leaves no room for any such allegations, and we ask that the documents be rejected.

Mr. President, in the argument this morning the proposition of the defense has been based mainly upon a third ground, a principle which may be shortly described as interpretation by breach. We all know that some crimes are frequently committed. We also know that in certain countries, for political or

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other reasons, juries have frequently refused to convict. I have never heard it suggested that either of those was a reason for saying that the law no longer existed or should be interpreted differently from the natural meaning of the words used.

There is a complete confusion in the use which my friend sought to make of the quotation from Hell and Oppenheim. It is quite true that, in order to establish a proposition in international common law as in nation 1 common law, you must proceed by practice and custom of the parties conserved. But, even in that case, when the proposition is once established, the fact that some nation subsequently chooses to break the rule does not affect the validity or interpretation of the rule.

When the rule is established by treaty, which corresponds in the international sphere approximately to legislation in the national sphere, then, in my submission, subsequent breaches, even by one of the parties to the treaty, can have no possible bearing on its true meaning or construction.

We would also like to make our position clear with regard to the question of the Tribunal taking judicial notice of such matters. It is obvious that most, if not all, of the incidents referred

to in the documents to which we are objecting would be, if the matter were investigated, subject to keen dispute both on the facts and the international law applicable to those facts. We wish to guard against the remark of the President with regard to the taking of judicial notice being interpreted at a later stage by the defense so as to enable them to make, by way or assertion in closing speeches, the very allegations which, if the Tribunal excludes this evidence, will not have been investigated.

Finally, on the question of mitigation, I could not follow what was supposed to be the bearing of this type of evidence on Article 6 of the Charter which was quoted and which deals with possible mitigation in respect of the command of a superior officer. In any event, it is a novelty to suggest that the fact that a crime is frequently committed, if it be the fact, is a matter to be taken as mitigation for the punishment of those who are actually brought to trial for it. I have frequently heard it used for the opposite purpose in considering the matter of sentence.

"We ask that the whole of these documents be excluded squarely on the ground that they are irrelevant to any issue to be tried within the jurisdiction

of this Tribunal.

I desire to refer to in Mr. Carr's reply. This

Court has never admitted a document on the ground

that estoppel applies in criminal cases, nor on any
ground bearing the faintest resemblance to estoppel.

Further, I think it is bold to suggest to us that we
would not take judicial notice of the fact that a
fact was found by the League of Mations bearing on
the point of aggressive wars between Russia and Finland.

We will recess for fifted minutes.

(Whereupon, at 1050. a recess was taken until 1110, after which the proceed-

ings were resumed as follows:)

Duda & Whalon

MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International Military Tribunal for the Far East is now resumed.

THE PRESIDENT: Nr. Comyns Carr.

MR. COMYNS CARR: Your Honor, I am afraid I may have failed to make myself clear on the two points to which you referred before the adjournment.

With regard to estoppel, I was not suggesting that this Tribunal had ever admitted a document on the ground of estoppel. I was dealing with the original argument of the defense in their opening in support of the admission of these documents in which it was based on estoppel.

With regard to judicial notice, if it is confined, as your Honor says, to an actual finding of the League of Nations, we should have no objection. But that would only touch one part of one of the many subjects dealt with in the documents now under consideration; and I was seeking to guard against assertions being made at a later stage about matters of fact which are in dispute, or would be in dispute if they were relevant, and the Tribunal being asked to take judicial notice of assertions of that kind.

THE PRESIDENT: Major Blakeney.

MR. BLAKENEY: If permitted, I should like to answer Mr. Comyns Carr very briefly.

THE PRESIDENT: Lid you finish what you were going to say, Major Blakeney:

MR. BLAKENEY: Yos, sir, I finished my argument.

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THE PRESIDENT: That is, allowing for an interruption by Mr. Comyns Carr. Actually, I thought that was the position. Mr. Carr came to the lectern. You haan't finished, and you allowed him to speak. If so, there is no question as to your right to continue. There may be a question as to your right to reply.

MR. BLAKENEY: No, sir, I am afraid that is not quite the position. I had finished my submission and yielded to br. Carr to reply. But since he has 14 made one or two--

15 THE PRESIDENT: Thus far we haven't been 16 hearing replies in these matter, but we are allowing 17 this. The majority of the Court think it ought to be 19

MR. BLAKENEY: At the moment there is, of course, one document before the Tribunal for decision upon. Mr. Comyns Carr has referred, in his answer, to other defense documents which will be subsequently tendered, and refers to them as containing insinuations of some nature against other nations. In order that

the Tribunal shall not have to hear the same argument on further documents, I should merely like to state correctly the nature of these further documents.

I think the Tribunal will readily apprehend that it will not be necessary to make exhaustive investigations of these other incidents when it is considered that, for example, the next document on my list is a statement of "inston Churchill as to what he did and why he did it in Iran. It will certainly not be necessary, as Mr. Comyns Carr suggests, for the Tribunal to search for treaties applicable to these other instances for those treaties are pleaded in the Indictment and are either in evidence or will be tendered in evidence by the defense. If there is any genuine apprehension that the defense intends to try to prove voluminous facts and details about these incidents, I might say that the presentation of my entire list of documents will take less than half a day.

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THE PRESIDENT: Personally I think you should be made to show from the law itself that the documents from admissible before you specify what they are. It is sufficient for you to assume for the time being that the conduct of other nations and of statesmen of other nations are relevant considerations in dealing with this pact, and then if we agree with you, to give the evidence. But I am not sure that my colleagues all agree with me, so I will take their opinion.

Mk. BL.KENEY: Meanwhile I will pass on to my last point, the questions raised by the President.

I should like to point out that the defense has never used the term estoppal, and that when Mr. Comyns Carr refers to it as having been in our argument, which was not an argument but an opening statement, he refers to something that was not read and is not before the Tribunal.

THE PRESIDENT: I believe one defense counsel in a notion going to jurisdic! Ion did rely on estoppal. However, you do not rely on it, Major?

MR. BL.KENEY: No, sir. 4s to the other point of judicial notice of actions of the League, I might merely suggest that the fact of the League's having acted, of course, does not render the state of the facts any more relevant to this case than they would

be otherwise. The taking of judicial notice is in a sense one way of receiving evidence, and--

THE PRESIDENT: And one way of dispensing with it.

MR. BLAKENEY: Or of the dispensing with the taking of evidence. It is one way of the Tribunal knowing the facts or coming to know them.

THE PRESIDENT: Of course, we always expect to be invited to take judicial notice, and to have the relevant facts placed before us. That is the usual thing. But we could act independently; particularly, notice of proclamations without the production of it.

Mh. BLAKENEY: Yes. My point was that since the Tribunal has indicated -- since the President has indicated that perhaps the Tribunal will take judicial notice of the action of the League in one of these instances--

THE PRESIDENT: and if we did judicially notice that finding of fact it is hardly likely we would reject it, investigate the matter, and substitute our own. We are always obliged to act according to common sense.

inh. bL.KENEY: ..nd if in other similar instances which are not susceptible of being taken

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judicial notice of the Tribunal fieds the same relevancy, then, of course, we should have to offer proof
of them in the ordinary way. Therefore, I was trying
to suggest that the question of relevancy, of course,
would be the test, not the question of convenience of
making proof or the convenience of finding of facts.

THE PRESIDENT: We cannot shut out a single

THE PRESIDENT: We cannot shut out a single relevant and material fact, no matter how disagreeable, unless it is cumulative or petty.

Mk. BL. KENEY: That is all that I have to say on the tender now before the Tribunal.

THE PRESIDENT: We will reserve our decision on the question whether you are to be permitted to read these documents and give this evidence.

We will adjourn for a few minutes.

(Whereupon, at 1130, an adjournment was taken to 1145, after which the proceedings were resumed as follows:)

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MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International Military Tribunal for the Far East is now resumed.

THE PRESIDENT: The Tribunal has decided not to receive evidence as to the relations between the USGR and Finland, Latvia, Esthonia, Poland and Roumania; nor as to the relations between Russia and Great Britain and Iran; nor as to the relations between the United States of America and Denmark, vis-a-vis Greenland and Iceland. These are collateral and irrelevant issues. The decision is a decision of the majority.

Mr. Smith.

MR. SMITH: If your Honor please, on behalf of Mr. HIROTA, I would like to have an exception to the ruling of the Court.

THE PRESIDENT: You have the exception, Mr. Smith.

Major Blakeney.

MR. BLAKENEY: I presume that as has been done in similar instances in the past I should make my tender of these documents and let the Tribunal's ruling apply to each of them separately.

THE PRESIDENT: In a national court that would be necessary to ground future rights, Mr. Blakeney. I think that statement I read out covered the lot,

didn't it? MR. BLAKENEY: It covered a large number 2 of my documents, possibly all of them on this exact 3 point. 4 THE PRESIDENT: Tender them and we will 5 reject them. 6 MR. BLAKENEY: The Journal of the League 7 of Nations has already been tendered for identifica-8 tion together with the excerpt constituting defense 9 document No. 475-B. 10 11 THE PRESIDENT: I understand one of my 12 colleagues desires to see these documents so you had 13 better list them all and give cories to the Judges 14 who desire them. 15 We will adjourn now to enable you to make a 16 list. 17 The Court will recess until half-past one. 18 (Whereupon, at 1150 a recess was 19 taken.) 20 21 22 23 24

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## AFTERNOON SESSION

The Tribunal met, pursuant to recess, at 1330.

MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International
Lilitary Tribunal for the Far Fast is row resumed.

THE FRES IDENT: Major Blakeney.

MR. BLAKENEY: I had tendered and requested that it be marked for identification, the Journal of the League of Nations.

CLERK (F THE COURT: The Journal of the League of Nations, to wit, defense document No. 475, will be given exhibit No. 2323 for identification only.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked defense exhibit No. 2323 for identification only.)

LR. BLAKENEY: I now offer in evidence the excerpt comprising defense document 475-B which has already been rejected, of course. Following that I should like to offer the excerpt described as defense document No. 475-A, being the action of the Council of the League in the same matter; and I assume that the same ruling follows.

(whereupon, the President modded.)

M BLAKENEY: I now tender for identification

defense document No. 478, being the volume "Speeches by British Leaders" published by the Foreign Ministry of Japan.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Defense document
No. 478 will receive exhibit No. 2324 for identification only.

(Whereupon, \*he document above re-

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked defense exhibit No. 2324 for identification only.)

MR. BLAKEMEY: And I now offer in evidence excerrts therefrom consisting of parts of the speech of Vinston Churchill in the House of Cormons on the 9th of September, 1941, dealing with the subject of the occupation of Iran.

Shall we assume without further comment by the President that the same ruling applies?

THE PRESIDENT: All these have been rejected. We expected you to hand in a list that would be simultaneously translated as you read it.

MR. BLAKEMEY: I am sorry. I did not se understand, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: That is why we adjourned at ten to twelve.

MR. BLAKENEY: I can make the tenders very quickly, I think.

In correction with the preceding document I wish to refer to prosecution exhibit No. 15, Treaties Governing Land Warfare, and specifically to Hague Convention The Fifth, the 18th of October, 1907, Rights and Duties of Neutral Powers and Persons, Articles I and II.

THE PRESIDENT: We have given no decision on that document. The relevancy of that has not been argued.

LR. BLAKENEY: I refrain from reading the articles in question because in the absence of the document to which they relate they would be meaningless alone.

As my next document I tender for identification the book "Events Leading Up to World War II" "ublished by United States Government Printing Office.

CLERK (F THE COURT: Defense document No. 559 will receive exhibit No. 2325 for identification only.

(whereupon, the document above referred to was marked defense exhibit No. 2325 for identification only.)

MR. BLAKENEY: And I offer in evidence excerpt: therefrom relating to the Baltic States.

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Defense document No. 559-A, it should be.
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           THE PRESIDENT: The excerpt is rejected.
           MR. BLAMENEY: I next tender for identi-
4 fication defense document No. 563 consisting of the
5 Treaty of Non-Aggression Between the U. S. S. R.
6 and Esthonia, published by the Foreign Ministry of
7 Japar.
           THE PRESIDENT: The last excerpt can be
9 marked for identification although rejected. The
10 document just tendered is rejected, but may be
11 marked for identification.
           CLERK OF THE COURT: Defense document 563
13 will receive exhibit No. 2326 for identification only.
                (Thereupon, the document above re-
       ferred to was marked defense exhibit No. 2326
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       for identification (nly.)
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           MR. BLAKENEY: It is offered in evidence.
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           CLERK OF THE COURT: Defense document
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19 No. 559-A will receive exhibit No. 2325-A, being
  an excernt from the book. That is for identification
  only as well.
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                 ('hereupen, the document above re-
22
       ferred to was marked defense exhibit No. 2325-A
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        for identification only.)
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            THE PRESIDENT: Let me put the position
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clearly. Parent documents are tendered for identification only in any case. Excerpts are tendered outright and are rejected, but are marked for identification only at the request of the defense.

MR. BIAKENEY: Document No. 563, which was given for identification only No. 2326, is not an excerpt but was offered in its complete form.

THE PRESIDENT: That has been rejected.

MR. BLAKENEY: I next offer in evidence a further excerpts from the book "Events Leading Up to World War II" which has been marked for identification exhibit 2325, corsisting of defense document No. 560, excerpts relating to Poland.

THE PRESIDENT: That has been rejected, but marked for identification only.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Defense document No. 560 will receive exhibit No. 2327 for identification only.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked defense exhibit No. 2327 for identification only.)

MR. BLAKENEY: I effer a further excerpt from exhibit 2325, being defense document 561, excerpts relating to Roumania.

THE PRESIDENT: That has been rejected but marked for identification only.

CLERK OF THE COURT. Defense document 561 will receive exhibit No. 2328 for identification only.

(whereupon, the document above referred to was marked defense exhibit 2328 for identification.

MF BLAKENEY: I now offer in evidence defense document 564, being a convention defining agression, entered into among the various nations and published by the Foreign ministry of Japan.

THE PRESIDENT: The relevancy of that has not been argued.

MR. BLAKENEY: while that is true, Mr.

President, this relates also to the question of the
Baltic States, and I assume stands on the same
ground as the other documents in relation thereto.

THE PRESIDENT: In fact you are pressing it and we have to decide the question of its relevancy.

MR. BLAKENEY: I beg your honor's pardon.

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I mis-stated the matter. It does not relate to the Baltic States but to Romania, and I do not press for its admission, because I am willing to concede that if the other documents are irrelevant this document is irrelevant.

THE PRESIDENT: There is nothing for us to decide.

. CLERK OF THE COURT: Defense document 564 will receive exhibit No. 2329 for identification only.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked exhibit No. 2329 for identification.)

the New York Times for the 20th of December 1941, defense document No. 516, on the subject of Timor. I call attention to the fact that the excerpt is mis-dated the 19th of December. For identification I offer the entire bound volume containing the issue for the 20th of December.

THE PRESIDENT: What about the excerpt?

MR. BLAKENEY: I have an excerpt, defense document No. 516, which I will offer in evidence.

This document of course is not covered by the Tribunal's ruling and stands in quite a different case.

THE PRESIDENT: If it is not objected to

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we will allow it to go in.

Mr. Comyns Carr.

Mh. COMYNS CARR: Your Honor, the only distinction between this document and the other on which the Tribunal ruled this morning is that the subject of Timor does enter to a certain extent into the inquiry of this Tribunal, because Portugal is mentioned in the conspiracy counts, not elsewhere.

THE PRESIDENT: This may have a bearing on issues and be relevant and material so far as it contains statements of fact and we know their source.

MR. COMYNS CARR: It might, your Honor, but, in our submission, it has not in fact.

THE PRESIDENT: It is in an entirely different category from those documents argued this morning.

mk. COMYNS CARR: Yes, I would submit partly different, your Honor, not quite entirely.

The allegation in the indictment in our case is that the accused included in their conspiracy to occupy, and to take possession of the possessions of other countries in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, Portugese Timor. This document purports to show that the Allies, after the outbreak of the Pacific War, anticipated that move

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as far as Timor was concerned by entering there to defend it, just as it was alleged that they did the same thing with regard to Persia, Greenland, and Iceland, documents as to which the Tribunal has already rejected.

THE PRESIDENT: But the Japanese did invado Timor and they did not invade Greenland or Iceland.

MR. COMYNS CARR: No, they did subsequently invade Timor, but our submission is that this
action of the Allies might have been the answer to
a charge of actually invading Timor, which is not
made, but could not be an answer to the charge of
conspiring to do so, and therefore this document,
although it does relate to something which is the
subject matter of the indictment, is really on the
same basis as the other.

THE PRESIDENT: Major blakeney.

indictment charge conspiracy to dominate Timor, among other regions, and if the only shred of evidence in the case on such conspiracy is that the sapanese occupied Timor, it must be highly relevant to know what the condition of Timor was at the time they occupied it or before that time.

THE PRESIDENT: In what count or appendix

is Portugal or Timer mentioned? MR. BLAKENEY: Portugal is mentioned in counts 4 and 5 and 53 to 55 of the indictment. 

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THE PRESIDENT: That is to say in conspiracy and in crimes -- in conventional war crimes and crimes against humanity.

MR. BLAKENEY: If the evidence tendered is such as to show only that Japan, once war was underway, attacked its enemies where it could find them then it is obviously extremely irrelevant on the question of whether the eccupation standing alone is evidence of conspiracy.

THE PRESIDENT: And the conspiracy is alleged to have continued up to the time of the surrender, that is, beyond the invasion of Timor.

We have decided to admit that document on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Defense document No. 516 will be given exhibit No. 2330 for identification only and the excerpt therefrom, bearing the same document number, will receive exhibit No. 2330-A.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked defense exhibit No.
2330 for identification; the excerpt therefrom being marked defense exhibit No. 2330-A
and received in evidence.)

IR. BLAKENEY: I shall read one or two excerpts from exhibit No. 2330-A, commencing with the beginning:

"Portugal Bids the Allies Quite Timor;

"They Say 'No' as Axis Warns Lisbon

"By Daniel T. Brigham

"By Telephone to the New York Times" -
THE PRESIDENT: We receive this only as a

statement of fact, the source of which is indicated

!'R. BLAKENEY: (Reading continued)

and for whatever probative value it has.

"Berne, Switzerland, Dec. 19-- Portugal demands that Britain and the Netherlands withdraw their occupation forces from Portugese Timor immediately, Premier and Forcign Minister Antonio de Oliveira Salazar told a special session of the National Assembly in Lisbon today.

"(In London's spokesman asserted that 'we won't budge', The United Press reported.)

"Dr. Falazar ackowledged that the island, which lies between Australia and the Netherlands Indies, was of 'greatest importance to the defense of Australia', but asserted that a Japanese attack there could not be regarded as 'probable'.

"Pending the Allied reply to the Portuguese protest, the Premier said, the government is studying 'the necessity of increasing the small garrison on the island'".

I skip the next paragraph:

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"In opening his speech the Premier told Parliament
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  that 'I am not here to make a speech, but to put before
  the National Assembly an exposition, a simple exposition,
4 of the facts.' He continued:
           "'Wednesday morning two armed contingents that
6 ppear to have been of Australian and Netherland nation-
7 ality debarked forcibly at Deli, invoking as their reason
sthe defense of the colony from an imminent Japanese
9 aggression. (In Batavia it was said the occupation was
10 parried out Thursday.) I pass over in silence certain
11 campaigns carried on in the world press during recent
12 weeks on the subject of Timor and on the subject of
13 Portuguese foreign policy -- ridiculous and interested
14 campaigns in which the presence of fourteen Japanese on
15 the island was taken as the protext for fears of Japanese
16 infiltration.
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           "'On Dec. 4 last the British Foreign Secretary,
  in a conversation with the Portuguese Ambassador to
London, mentioned the strategical position of Timor, which
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  is essential to the defense of Australia and on the subject
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  of which the British General Staff has been obliged to
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  preoccupy itself. The British Government, he said, had
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  three questions to ask. These were:
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           "11. What would be the attitude of the Portuguese
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  Government in case of a Japanese attack on Timor?
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Would the Portuguese Government be disposed 1112. to accept British aid if the island was attacked? 2 "'3. If the answer is in the affirmative, would 3 there not be advantage in studying now a plan for joint 4 occupation? "'It is our conviction that a Japanese attack against the Portuguese possession of Timer can under no circumstances be considered as prebable. "'However, as a prudent measure of foresight and 9 owing to the existence of our alliance with Great Britain, the government did not hesitate to answer in 11 the following manner: First, we would resist with force any Japanese aggression against Timor -- as we would against any other Portuguesa possession or against any aggressor; second, given our intentien to resist, we would not only accept British aid, we would expect it under the treaty of alliance, the more so since there exists no reason why the Japanese should attack our possession, and the attack, should it come, would come only as a result of our alliance with Great Britain or as a prelude to subsequent attacks against British 21 possessions. 23 "'On Dec. 7 the British Government acknowledged receipt of this communication in the warmest terms, and, 25 after consultation with the Australian Government,

suggested that a Portuguese officer be sent immediately
to Singapore to confer with the British Command there.'
"Says Offer was Accepted
"The Premier and Pareign Mandatases."

"The Premier and Foreign Minister -- and Minister of War -- told his listeners that his government had accepted this offer and had sent the Governor of Timor instructions to this effect:

as that which is due to the Portuguese under the treaty this country has with the British. This will come in the form of British and Netherlands troops under British command. The hypothesis to be envisaged is solely that of a Japanese aggression against Timor. This accord does not come into effect merely on the basis of simple merace or fears thereof, more or less well founded. The collaboration of foreign troops is not reciprocal except that through Japanese attack on our possessions we have already lost our neutrality, and that, finally, all foreign troops will be withdrawn once their presence is no longer required.

"British and Netherland representations, however,
became increasingly insistent, the Premier went on, as
Allied fears of a Japanese attack increased. But while
the British Ambassador in Lisbon was trying to convince
the Portuguese Government of the necessity of immediate

measures, those forces were being debarked on the island of Timor 'and those troops did not land with the object of negotiation, but to call upon the Governor to grant immediate permission.'

"'Naturally the modest police garrison on the island could do nothing to resist,' Dr. Falazar said.

"The Premier added that 'the colony remains calm' and that 'we are at present studying the means of increasing the garrison there as the simplest manner of bringing peace back to that island exposed as it is to the convulsions of war.'

"A formal note of protest demanding that the Allies immediate withdraw from Timor was being prepared in the Foreign Office late tonight. It is to be handed to the British Ambassador early tomorrow."

That is the end of the excerpt.

MR. BLAKENEY: I next tender for identification the volume containing the New York Times for the 11th of April 1941, defense document No. 517.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Defense document No. 517 will receive exhibit No. 2331 for identification only.

("hereupon, the document above referred to was marked defense exhibit No. 2331 for identification.)

MR. BLAKENEY: And I offer in evidence the excerpt therefrom entitled "Agreement "hereby United States Becomes Protector of Greenland," already rejected by the Tribunal's ruling this morning.

THE PRESIDENT: The excerpt is rejected but will be marked for identification only.

CLERK OF THE COURT: The excerpt from exhibit No. 2331, bearing the same document No. will receive exhibit No. 2331-A for identification only.

(Thereupon, the document above referred to was marked defense exhibit No. 2331-A for identification only.)

MR. BLAKENEY: And I next offer in evidence defense document No. 562, being further excerpts from the book "Events Leading up to "orld "ar II," relating to the Greenland matter.

THE PRESIDENT: Rejected, but to be marked for identification only. CLERK OF THE COURT: Defense document No. 562 will receive exhibit No. 2332 for identification only. (Whereupon, the document above 6 referred to was marked defense exhibit No. 2332 for identification.) 8 MR. BLAKENEY: I now offer in evidence --I now tender for identification the volume contain-10 ing the New York Times for the 8th of July 1941, defense document No. 518. 12 I regret to have to call attention to 13 another error in date. This is marked the 9th but -14 should be the 8th of July. 15 CLERK OF THE COURT: Defense document No. 16 518 will receive exhibit No. 2333 for identification 17 18 only. (Thereupon, the document above 20 referred to was marked defense exhibit No. 21 2333 for identification.) 22 MR. BLAKENEY: And I offer in evidence the excerpt therefrom, consisting of the message of President Roosevelt to Congress in relation to Iceland,

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defense document No. 518.

THE PRESIDENT: Rejected, but to be marked 1 for identification only. 2 CLERK OF THE COURT: Defense document No. 518, being an excerpt from exhibit No. 2333, will receive exhibit No. 2333-A for identification only. 5 ("hereupon, the document above 6 referred to was marked defense document No. 7 2333-A for identification.) 8 MR. BLAKENEY: I now offer in evidence 9 10 defense document No. 553, being the Nippon Times 11 Magazine for the 20th of February 1947. 12 CLERK OF THE COURT: Defense document No. 553 will receive exhibit No. 2334 for identification 13 14 only. 15 (Whereupon, the document above 16 referred to was marked defense exhibit No. 17 2334 for identification only.) 18 MR. BLAKENEY: And I offer in evidence the 19 excerpt therefrom bearing the same document number, 20 being the complete article entitled "A-Bomb Decision." 21 MR. COMYNS CARR: Your Honor, I am not quite 22 sure, nor is my friend, whether this document was 23 included in the ruling of the Tribunal this morning. I mentioned it in the list of documents to which my argument applied.

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THE PRESIDENT: It is included.

IR. COMYNS CARR: In that case I have to submit that it is equally objectionable with the other documents, although the reason is perhaps not quite the same. The document purports to be an account by Secretary -- former Secretary for War Stimson, of the reasons which led the United States to use the A-bomb in the last stages of the Pacific war.

THE PRESIDENT: "as Mr. Stimson the Secretary of State when the atom bombs were dropped?

MR. COMYNS CARR: Yes -- Secretary of War.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we want full argument on this, as much as you can offer:

MR. COMYNS CARR: In my submission, the question of the choice of weapons on the Allied side in the war has no bearing upon any issue before this Tr\*bunal. It certainly can have no bearing on the charges of conspiracy or planning or waging, or initiating or waging war, and in my submission equally it can have no bearing on the charges of class B and C offenses.

THE PRESIDENT: Except as perhaps from the time the bombs were dropped. The dropping of those bombs could not have obliterated any offense already

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committed.

MR. COMYNS CARR: No, your Honoe. I can not say whether there are any charges after that date.

THE PRESIDENT: You are charging conspiracy up to the time of the signing of the instrument of surrender, I think.

MR. COMYNS CARR: Yes, your Honor, conspiracy concerning each and every defendant. I was thinking of specific offenses. But, assuming there are any such, in my submission nobody has ever suggested that there is any law of war which forbade the use of such a weapon, and if there were it could, in my submission, afford no excuse for the commission of offenses by the Japanese against prisoners of war. And for those reasons, in my submission it can be of no assistance to this Tribunal to consider Mr. Stimson's views and reasons for authorizing the use of that weapon.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, Major Blakeney.

MR. BLAKENEY: If my learned friend were familiar with the preparation of the Hague Convention IV, the Laws and Customs of War on Land, he would know that there is law prohibiting the use of certain types of weapons. He would know, at all events, that the prohibition is expressed in this Convention and he

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would then be faced with the question whether we are not remitted to the conduct of nations to determine what it means.

THE PRESIDENT: Assuming, but without deciding that the atom bombs or the dropping of them constituted war crimes, what effect do you contend that has on the issues?

IR. BLAKENEY: There might be several answers to that, Mr. President. One, for example, is the well-recognized right of retaliation.

THE PRESIDENT: Retaliation follows, does not precede.

IT. BLAKENEY: And the charges that war crimes by the Japanese, and specifically by these defendants, not only preceded but followed and were of different natures.

tion produced evidence relating to the atomic bomb question, and if my memory does not deceive me there was also evidence of measures taken by the Japanese thereafter. Moreover, as in all cases of interpretation of treaties, we have the best possible indication of the meaning of this Pague Convention in the conduct of other parties to it.

If we could concede that officials of Japan were violating Hague Convention IV as they are charged

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with violating it, in planning certain measures violative of its provisions, we should find ourselves in the same dilemma when we find that the high officials of the United States were planning the use of this weapon from 1941, the same dilemma of knowing whether the Convention has one or two different meanings.

And in fact, as a separate question, I think the Tribunal would be entitled to draw the conclusion from this document that the Hague Convention of 1907 is obsolete or obsolescent.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Carr.

Morse & Greenberg

MR. COMYNS CARR: Your Honor, I do not claim the right to be heard again on this matter, but I do submit that if my learned friend is arguing to this Tribunal about Hague Convention No. 4 he should at least inform the Tribunal which of the provisions of Hague Convention No. 4 he is talking about.

THE PRESIDENT: That may be necessary for the purpose of the prosecution but not for the Tribunal. We know what he is talking about.

Major Blakeney, it might be arguable -- I don't say it is -- that the dropping of the two bombs on Japan justified some if not all of the things done by Japan after they were dropped, but what about the events that occurred before? You rely, of course, on the obsolescence of the Hague Convention, but have you any other argument?

MR. BLAKENEY: Beyond that, of course, we don't contend that this particular evidence has any bearing on previous event. Other evidence will have to be adduced to supplement it in that respect. And as to the events occurring after this we submit it is plainly relevant in the way of retaliatory measures.

THE PRESIDENT: That is over a brief three weeks.

MR. BLAKENEY: Those three weeks, of course,

might be enough to convict one of these defendants. My recollection is that the evidence covering those three weeks was rather voluminous. Manila, for example. THE PRESIDENT: We will consider the matter. We will recess for fifteen minutes. (Whereupon, at 1435, a recess was taken until 1505, after which the proceedings were resumed as follows:) 

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THE PRESIDENT: By majority the Tribunal rejects defense document 553, purporting to be an excerpt from the Nippon Times Magazine relating to the atom bomb decision and to alleged observations by Mr. Stimson. It was in the New York Times. The document will be marked for identification only.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Lefense document No. 553, to-wit, the Magazine of the Nippon Times, will receive exhibit No. 2334; and the excerpt therefrom, bearing the same document number, will receive 2334-A; both for identification only.

(Whereupon, defense document No. 553 was marked defense exhibit No. 2334 for identification; and the excerpt therefrom, bearing the same document number, was marked defense exhibit No. 2334-A for identification.)

THE PRESIDENT: Major Blakeney.

MR. BLAKENEY: I have thus far been tendering evidence of the conduct of nations which defines our international law. I turn now to a related point already inferentially touched upon, that of responsibility of individuals for acts performed in their representative capacity as agents of governments. As bearing upon the all-pervading question of the case -- whether there has heretofore been formulated or recognized by the

community of nations any principle of such a responsibility -- I wish first to call attention to the provisions of some existing treaties. First, I refer to Hague Convention IV, of 18 October 1907, Laws and Customs of War on Land, one of the few treaties purporting in any way to impose responsibility for violations of its own provisions. The significant part of this convention, which is included in prosecution exhibit 15, is its Article 3, appearing on page 11 of the exhibit:

"Article 3. A belligerent party which violates the provisions of the said Regulations shall, if the case demands, be liable to pay compensation. It shall be responsible for all acts committed by persons forming part of its armed forces."

I wish to read into evidence also part of
Article 29 of the Geneva (Red Cross) Convention of
27 July 1929, prosecution exhibit 15, at page 147, the
more common expression of intention that nations
shall discipline their own nationals for breaches of
the terms of the convention. I read the first paragraph of Article 29:

"The Governments of the High Contracting
Parties whose penal laws may not be adequate, shall
likewise take or recommend to their legislatures the

necessary measures to repress in time of war all acts in contravention of the provisions of the present Convention."

Jubstantially similar provisions appear in Hague Convention X, 18 October 1907, prosecution exhibit 16, Article 21, at page 13; the Convention of 1912 on Suppression of the Abuse of Opium and Other Drugs, prosecution exhibit 17, Articles 1, 6, 9 and 20; and other conventions, which I shall not read.

Although the best evidence on the point is perhaps the absence of mention in international consensual acts of any principle of individual criminal responsibility, there is also evidence in abundance that the question has been repeatedly mooted and the principle suggested to the nations for adoption. Some of this evidence I now tender.

First, and most celebrated, of these instances is the proposal for trying Wilhelm of Hohenzollern and others as criminals of World War I. In this connection I offer in evidence the "Report Presented to the Preliminary Peace Conference by the Commission on the Responsibility of the Authors of the War and on the Enforcement of Penalties," 29 Farch 1919. I should have said I tender it for identification, defense document 353.

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CLERK OF THE COURT: Lefense document No. 353 will receive exhibit No. 2335 for identification only. (Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked defense exhibit No. 2335 for identification.) MR. BLAKENEY: And I now offer in evidence the excerpt therefrom, bearing the same cocument number, and consisting of Annex II, thereof. 

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THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Comyns Corr.

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MR. COMYNS CARR: May it please the Tribunal, I submit that this document is objectionable, but now on a very different set of reasons from those we were discussing before. This is apparently designed as the foundation for a legal argument, and it raises the question how far it is proper in a legal argument to consider the earlier views of those who take part in the making of a treaty. The document consists of the reservations presented by the two United States members, Mr. Robert Lansing and Mr. James Brown Scott, and the two Japanese members, Me .. DACHI and S. T.CHI, to the majority report of the Commission on Responsibility of the Authors of War and on Enforcement of Penalties. Actually both the United States of America and Japan were signatories of the Treaty of Versailles, and in the case of the United States Mr. Lansing, one of the signatories of these reservations, was also a signatory of the treaty on behalf of his country.

The treaty contains Part 7 Penalties, including Article 227, which has already been cited in argument, in an earlier argument before this Tribunal.

The first sentence of it is: "The Allied and Associated Powers publicly arraign William II of Hohenzollern,

the international morality and the sanctity of treaties.'
and it proceeds to provide for his trial by a court
of five judges appointed by the United States of
America, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan, and
to give to the tribunal unlimited discretion as to
punishment if he should be found guilty.

In those circumstances, in our submission, it is irrelevant to consider whether the representatives of two of those same powers on the previous commission, including one of the signatories of the treaty, at an earlier stage held different views.

We appreciate that in the case of international law it is cust mary to take into consideration contemporaneous declarations by the signatories, but, in our submission, only for the purpose of explaining and not of contradicting the treaty ultimately arrived at.

THE PRESIDENT: Do you concede that, Mr, Carr, if the words of the treaty are plain and admit of no other ambiguity?

not concede that even explanation from contemporary statements is admissible. But in no circumstances can a contradiction be admissible.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Blakeney, what Mr. Carr said can hardly be controverted, but you may, if you are allowed to bring up this question of individual responsibility later, adopt the arguments of the american and Japanese delegates. You are always at liberty to do that. But tendering them as evidence is another matter.

MR. BLAKENEY: I appreciate that, of course, your Honor. But I would like to make one or two observations on these points also, if I may.

I would like to point out for one thing that the Treaty of Versailles was not ratified by the United States of America. If it is going to be relied upon as showing the attitude of that nation on this question, which, by the way, is the same argument exactly which I advanced in support of my evidence this morning, then we cannot certainly draw any inference that it represents the attitude of the United States of America.

If, moreover, the Treaty of Versailles takes the opposite view from that of these delegates, nevertheless it takes that view only to the extent of arraigning Wilhelm of Hohenzollern, in rhetorical language, and providing for his trial.

This commission was discussing a far broader

question, and the fact of the eventual decision on the political plane, as appears from this document, is the evidence which we are contending for on the general question.

We do not contend that the framers of the treaty adopted the views of these dissentions in connection with the Kaiser himself. It did not adopt these views.

We centend that this evidence goes to a quite different point; that here the representatives of the nations had presented to them, and considered, a much more far-reaching question of individual criminal responsibility, and they declined to adept it. And evidence subsequently to be tendered would show that the principle has again and again been offered to the nations for their adeption, and has not been adopted, which we submit is probative on the question of whether such a principle has ever existed prior to this time.

there is no individual responsibility you say, and custom is proved as a matter of fact. Is that your attitude, Major Blakeney?

MR. BLAKENEY: My attitude is that the customary law should be proved as a matter of fact, but if I understand correctly, the Tribunal has prohibited me from proving those things as matters of fact.

THE PRESIDENT: The United States Supreme Court has told you how to prove these things and it is not in just the way you intend. I think it is the case of the Paquete Habana and another boat -- I have forgetten the boat but I think it was some years aga. I can get the authority in a matter of minutes.

MR. BLAKENEY: Yes, I am conscious that our method of proof here is somewhat unusual but, of course, we are trying to prove the negative.

THE PRESIDENT: I cannot speak for the whole of the Tribunal on this but I do think they will allow you to prove the matter in the way indicated by the United States Supreme Court in that case and others.

MR. BLAKENEY: I am sorry, your Honor, that we seem to have adopted a method of proof which does not meet with your approval, but in my experience when it is necessary to prove customs or law based on customs, it is done by witnesses or documents

just as any other fact.

THE PRESIDENT: This Tribunal may allow you to prove the matter the way you intend; I do not know, Major Blakeney, but I am pointing out what the United States Court says is the right way.

MR. BLAKENEY: I am sorry that I am not familiar with that method and, of course, am prepared only to proceed in this way at this time.

THE PRESIDENT: Is there anything else you can go along with until we can get that authority?

MR. BLAKENEY: Yes, sir. Language section, I am on page 7 near the top of my script.

On the subject of standards of international conduct I should like to offer in evidence a document which may be considered to be the last word on this subject, the Charter of the United Nations, defense document No. 548.

THE PRESIDENT: In the meantime we are reserving our decision on the Lansing and Scott report.

MR. BLAKENEY: This is Department of State publication No. 2553, which is tendered for identification.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Defense document
No. 548 will receive exhibit No. 2336 for identification only.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked defense exhibit No. 2336 for identification only.)

MR. BLAKENEY: I wish to read therefrom Articles 39, 41 and 42, they being the provisions for action to be taken by the United Nations in the event of a breach of the peace or an act of aggression.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, Mr. Comyns Carr.

MR. COMYNS CARR: Your Honor, I regret to have to be so constantly objecting but in my submission this document, excellent and valuable as it is, can have no bearing on the issues you have to try here. It is an agreement arrived at long after the events with which we are dealing and in my submission can throw no light on them. I do not know that I can usefully amplify that.

THE PRESIDENT: On what ground are you tendering that one, Major Blakeney?

MR. BLAKENEY: The ground is that if this document, being the latest and best considered document on the subject of international responsibility doesn't refer to the matter of individual responsibility, even with the experience of all these advanced antedating the document, referred to by

Mr. Comyns Carr, the nations must not recognize any such principle of any individual criminal responsibility for breach of international agreements.

THE PRESIDENT: In the course of a few weeks the United Nations may adopt or reject -- I cannot say what they are going to do -- the law as laid down in the Nuernberg judgment because of matters before them.

MR. BLAKENEY: Of course, none of us knows what principles nations may adopt in future but my submission is that the failure to adopt it at

San Francisco when the Charter of the United Nations was adopted shows that the nations then either did not recognize the existence of the principle or did not consider punishment for violation of it by criminal proceedings to be wholesome and thus worth perpetuating in the Charter; and this in the course of the most comprehensive attempt in history at preserving the general peace and at enforcing international obligations.

THE PRESIDENT: The case I referred to a few minutes ago is the case of Paquete Habana and the Lola, decided in the year 1899 and reported in 175 United States Reports at 677. I have not the report itself.

A reference to it appears in Pitt Cobbett Cases in International Law, Volume 1, the 5th edition, page 1, et seq.

Mr. Justice Gray for the Court indicated that the source of international law generally resorted to was such works of judicial -- well, this is hardly sufficient; I had better read the lot:

"Proceeding next to consider the question in the light of jurists and commentators it is pointed out that such works were resorted to by judicial tribunals not for the speculations of those authors concerning what the law ought to be but for trustworthy evidence of what the law really was."

Pitt Cobbett ad's this: "International law is a body of living rules resting on the general assent of civilized nations. Such assents find its expression for the most part in usage which when sufficiently general give rise to custom. For proof of usage regard must be had to the records of the actual practice of states as well as to the works of accredited writers on international law."

That is the method of proof open to you, Major Blakeney, as far as I can discover the law.

MR. BLAKENEY: I quite agree with that definition, your Honor, and suggest that proof of actual practice of states is what I have been offering today. As to the works of accredited writers, I have prepared some evidence of that nature, though not on this specific point. I should like to urge that Mr. Pitt Cobbett's words state much better than I can the exact relevance and propriety of the document now under consideration. He says -- I am paraphrasing -- that the rules of international law rest on the general consent.

This evidence now tendered shows one of the chief powers of the world, speaking through its secretary of state and representative, not giving assent to the principle in question. Therefore, I again submit that it is strictly relevant to the issue under consideration.

THE PRESIDENT: Now what Mr. Lansing and others said is not; what the League of Nations did may be. They are not accredited writers; never were. You can adopt their argument if you are allowed to argue this question later.

MR. BLAKENEY: We had, of course, assumed that we would be allowed to argue all questions of law in the case, and therefore were trying to lay the

1 foundation of fact. THE PRESIDENT: The practice of states is not to be found in what Mr. Lansing said. 3 MR. BLAKENEY: Mr. Lansing, of course, was Secretary of State at the time. THE PRESIDENT: Well, have you anything to 7 add, Major Blakeney? 8 LR. BLAKENEY: No, sir, nothing further on 9 this point, your Honor. 10 THE PRESIDENT: Are you tendering any other 11 document of the kind? 12 MR. BLAKENEY: Yes, I have already tendered 13 document 353. 14 THE PRESIDENT: Well, we are reserving our 15 decision on those documents. We will give it tomorrow, 16 if we are allowed to do so. "e propose to recess now, 17 but do you wish to say anything? 18 MR. BLAKENEY: Will your Honor indulge 19 me just a moment. I have been handed another authority 20 which I would like to read to you since you are going to consider the matter further. It is very brief. 22 I am reading from Fenwick Cases on International Law, 23 1935, page 17. 24 THE PRESIDENT: "hat edition? 25 IR. BLAKEMEY: Apparently the only edition.

This discussion comes under the case of

The Lola and The Paquete Habana. I quote:

"Chancellor Kent says: 'In the absence of higher and more authoritative sanctions, the ordinances of foreign states, the opinions of eminent statesmen, and the writings of distinguished jurists, are regarded as of great consideration on questions not settled by conventional law."

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Justice Gray may have included eminent statesmen -- I was not reading from the report -- but I do not think he did.

MR. BLAKENEY: It was not said to be Mr. Justice Gray, Mr. President, but Chancellor Kent whose word I was reading.

THE PRESIDENT: I know that. Mr. Justice Gray may have agreed with him.

Mr. Smith.

refer to the course of decisions in the Supreme
Court of the United States very briefly. That court
up until about ten or fifteen years ago held that
where a statute was plain and unambiguous on its
face there was no room for construction.

THE PRESIDENT: We are not discussing any statute now.

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observation, your Honor, made about a year ago as to the course of decisions in the Supreme Court. In recent years in a whole series of cases the Court has held that it has a right, notwithstanding clear language of the statute, to look at the legislative history to see what the Congress had in mind.

THE PRESIDENT: That does not apply in the British Empire.

We will recess until half-past nine tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 1600, an adjournment was taken until Tuesday, 4 March 1947, at 0930.)